

THE ENGLISH IN ROME

1362–1420

Portrait of an Expatriate Community

MARGARET HARVEY



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Chapter 1

THE SETTING I: ROME IN THE LATER FOURTEENTH CENTURY, 1362-1376

This study begins in Rome in 1362 largely because that year a significant English institution was begun. It is also, however, a reasonable starting point because the year afterwards the city of Rome received a new constitution, intended to mark a decisive shift from the aristocratically dominated politics of the previous period; a new era was about to begin, dominated by the *popolo*.

Nowadays if one wanders along the via Monserrato from the direction of S Peter's, one comes eventually to a large building on the left side, not far from Piazza Farnese. There is a sizeable church and two large entrances, with inside a complex of buildings of different ages, including a courtyard and a garden, with a smaller chapel. All this and formerly much more is now the Venerabile Collegio Inglese, once the site of the English hospice of S Thomas, now in rione Regola, then called Arenula. The object of this chapter is to answer a few questions about the physical and economic setting in which the new enterprise was undertaken in 1362 and to sketch the background to its first fifty years. By 1420 the enterprise was important and the English had even founded a second hospice, in the Trastevere district, both operations involving substantial ownership of property and a considerable turnover of money.

The documents which record the first foundation of 1362 concern John Shepherd, beadseller (*paternostrarius*) of England, resident in Arenula district in Rome, buying a house from Antonio Smerucci, woolman (*lanarolus*) formerly of Camerino now of the same Roman district. He very shortly sold it again to William Chandler of York who received in his own name and for the community and *universitas* of the English of Rome.¹ Alice wife of John Shepherd then renounced her claims on the house; William Chandler was invested with it and Alice

¹ *mm.* 34, 36, 37, printed *Venerabile*, pp. 37-41.

and John then offered their goods and service to run it as a hospital. As well as Chandler, Robert de Pigna, proctor (*syndicus*) and John son of William, from *Maxigam* (?Massingham) goldsmith (*aurificus*), called treasurer (*camerarius*) of the English community, acted together to receive Alice Shepherd's statement and the offer from the couple. The witnesses included Simon son of John Barber, *paternostrarius*, William son of Richard, *paternostrarius*, Simon son of John Sparo, Robert, son of John, oblate of the church of S Maria in Julia and Henry son of John from Trastevere region, all of whom we know were English and several of whom were important in their small community. The Italians included Matthias Paccia, when Shepherd bought his house, Lellus de Narnia, weigher (*ponderator*), when Alice renounced her claims on it, Jacobellus Cafagi, builder (*murator*), Paulus Alisii, notary, and Lellus domini Johannis *cavalerii*, when Chandler was invested. All these were substantial neighbours, who appeared in other documents concerning the region.

The number of known Englishmen resident in Rome at this date was wider than the group founding the hospice. At least eleven households can be traced and there were probably several more; certainly some existed before 1362. What were these English people doing in Rome and why did some of them think it worth spending money founding a hospital? What was their relationship to the Italians among whom they were living?

First of all it will be necessary to look at the physical setting in which these English people lived. Rome in 1362 was probably very under populated. Before the Black Death there had been famines and Rome had probably lost significant numbers in the plague itself and thereafter from further outbreaks of plague and other diseases.² There is little evidence for the effect of the Black Death in the city but the oldest Roman notary's note-book, of Johannes Nicolai Pauli, who worked in the Monti region, stretched from precisely 1348 (to 1379).³ Beginning on 15 June 1348, this recorded eighteen wills to 14 September.⁴ The greatest number came in June and July. All the testators were said to be 'sick in body but sound in mind' (*infirmus corpore mente tamen sanus*). Of those recorded making wills Petrus Johannis Martini did so on 18 July,

² For some evidence see G. Villani, *Nuova cronica*, ed. G. Porta, 3 vols., Parma 1990–1, XI/76, pp. 612–13, XI/118, pp. 669–10, XI/119, pp. 670–3, for instance about Louis of Bavaria in 1328. 1328/9 is recorded by Villani as a year of exceptional hardship.

³ Johannes Nicolai Pauli, *I protocolli di Johannes Nicoli Pauli, un notaio romano del '300 (1348–1379)*, ed. R. Mosti (= Collection de l'école française de Rome 63), Rome 1982 (hereafter called Johannes Nicolai Pauli).

⁴ Johannes Nicolai Pauli, nos. 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 41, 50, 65.

altered it on 21 July, and was dead by about 23 July.⁵ Johannes Mei Gratiani Muti, making his on 21 July, was dead by 19 September.⁶ In other years Johannes Nicolai Pauli made far fewer wills; in 1354 for instance only one is recorded. Antonius Gaioli Petri Scopite, who lived and worked in the Arenula district, by comparison, recorded only four wills for 1365.⁷ The number in 1348 thus looks very unusual; the death rate was probably very great. Even in 1400, after the return of the papacy from Avignon, the population of Rome was at most 25,000.⁸ In 1362 the figure could have been as low as 17,000.

Though the city walls enclosed a large area, much of the area within was uninhabited, consisting of open spaces, vineyards and gardens. Some deeds for the hospice of S Thomas concern a complex of property bought in 1371 in Parione region.⁹ The earliest go back to 1332 when it was described as having on one side *vacans de communitate* and on the other *vacans et ortus*. In the earlier period, as we shall see, the English, in common with many other inhabitants, owned land (*stirps*, ?cleared areas), within the city walls. A deed concerning the buying of a house and garden in Trastevere region by John White, founder of the second English hospice of S Edmund, in 1404, recorded that the chapel of the hospice was built in the garden, where the original deed described fruit trees.¹⁰ Andrew Alene, a Welsh priest, left vineyards within the city walls to the German hospice he helped to found in the place called Testacio (*infra menia urbis in loco qui dicitur Testacio*).¹¹

Water supply was uncertain in some places and most inhabitants lived at the bend of the Tiber, even though that was subject to flooding. In the notarial protocols houses were described carefully as 'with a well in it' (*cum puteo existente in eo*) or as 'with a free well in it' (*cum puteo in se libero*)¹² added as an extra value.¹³ Some houses which the English hospice of S Thomas later acquired were similarly described.¹⁴ An English will made in Rome in 1401 left something to 'Agnes who is wont to carry the water' revealing a necessary though lowly urban task.¹⁵ The mother of the great popular leader, Cola di Rienzo, as well as being a washer-woman, was also a water carrier, from the Arenula

⁵ Ibid., nos. 25, 21, 33.

⁶ Ibid., nos. 31, 70.

⁷ Gaioli, A., *Il protocollo notarile di 'Anthonius Gaioli Petri Scopite' (1365)*, ed. R. Mosti, Rome 1991 (hereafter called Gaioli).

⁸ Maas, *German Community*, p. 2; R. Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City 312–1308*, Princeton 1980, pp. 231–2; D. Herlihy, 'The Tuscan towns in the Quattrocento: a demographic profile', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, new series 1 (1970), pp. 81–109.

⁹ m. 60.

¹⁰ m. 165.

¹¹ Archives of Collegio di S Maria dell'Anima, Instr. Litt. B. tom. 1, ff. 102–103v.

¹² Caputgallis, F. de, *Un notaio romano del trecento. Il protocollo di Francesco di Stefano de Caputgallis (1374–1386)*, ed. R. Mosti, Rome 1994, p. 216 (hereafter called Caputgallis).

¹³ Gaioli, p. 158.

¹⁴ mm. 27, 43, 45, 51 (wells).

¹⁵ m. 158.

region.¹⁶ The original house which the Shepherds bought and then sold had no well (at least none mentioned in its deed) but in 1406 a deed mentioned that the English group had built a conduit to bring water for the next house which it had now bought.¹⁷ Another case concerning English property, heard before the masters of the streets (responsible for settling disputes and later for policing building regulations)¹⁸ in 1407, concerned the building of a dividing wall to show whose was the water in a shared well between a house owned by the hospice and that of a Florentine. The houses, in the Parione region, were described as having a well ‘with shared water’ (*cum aqua communi*) with ‘a wall raised a little to show the division of this well and the part belonging to the hospital’ (*paries aliquantulum in altum relevatum ad hostendum divisionem ipsius putei et partem dicti hospitalis*).¹⁹

Public roads were few but there is evidence of alleyways between houses. The house of the English *paternostrarius* William son of Richard, in the Parione region, was described as having a common lane running between it and the next house.²⁰ But very often houses leaned against one another, allowing quarrels about walls and boundaries and of course nuisance. In 1412 the hospice of S Thomas quarrelled seriously with a neighbour of one of its properties in Parione because a branch of a tree in his garden was damaging the roof of the hospice house ‘it comes down strongly upon the roof of the said house’ (*ascendit super tectum dicte domus cum vigore*). The neighbour had to cut the branch.²¹ In 1428 Petrus Lei, a neighbour of a house owned by S Chrysogonus’ hospice, complained that smoke from the house’s kitchen was so noxious that he could not live in his house nor keep his cloths clean (it sounds as if he was a clothier). There was a common way between his house and that next door and the officials of S Chrysogonus’ equally complained that water from the roof and elsewhere from Petrus’ house was falling into their garden. Arbitrators decreed that Petrus must bar the windows on the hospice side and repair

the tunnel or ditch which was formerly in the said sluice. Petrus and anyone else from his house are not to throw nor cause to be thrown anything unclean or unsuitable through the windows of Petrus’ house into the kitchen or garden of the hospice house.

¹⁶ G. Porta, ed., ‘Anonimo romano’, *Cronica*, Milan 1979, p. 143: *la quale visse de lavare panni e acqua portare*.

¹⁷ *mm.* 175, 178.

¹⁸ C. Carbonetti Vendittelli, ‘La curia dei *magistri edificanum urbis* nei secoli XIII e XIV e la sua documentazione’, in E. Hubert, ed., *Rome au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (= Collection de l’école française de Rome 170), Rome 1993, pp. 3–42, esp. pp. 9, 13.

¹⁹ *m.* 180.

²⁰ *m.* 96.

²¹ *m.* 187.

One shudders to think what feud had preceded the case. The hospice likewise had to repair the chimney so that smoke did not injure Petrus' house and, if the parties wished, rulings were made about a conduit (*canalis*) they could build in the common lane between the houses.²² In the inhabited area the houses were of all types, with towers, hovels, re-used ancient remains (*grypta*) and what are described as palaces, cheek by jowl, so there was no 'fashionable quarter', although there were certainly very different social classes in the city.

For residents of Rome an important territory was the *rione* in which they lived. There were thirteen in the fourteenth century, responsible for some aspects of local government, particularly the citizen militia from 1363.²³ Men were identified by their *rione*. It was the major subdivision of the city by 1362 and these areas elected representatives for the commune which was the ruling organisation until 1398.²⁴ But within that area there were subdivisions. When describing a property many deeds give the parish in which it lay²⁵ and often the *contrada* or subdivision of the *rione*.²⁶ The house which became the hospital of S Thomas was described in 1362 as in Arenula region, in the parish of Ss Maria and Caterina (now S Caterina della Ruota).²⁷ In 1375 a house which later belonged to S Thomas's hospice was described as in *rione* Ponte in *contrada* Pizzomerle.²⁸ This is the area near the present Sforza Cesarini palace, on modern via Vittorio Emanuele. For many residents these divisions must have made up the whole world without need to go very far even outside the city walls. In 1395 an Englishman striving to explain how thoroughly a fellow country-man had vanished put it thus:

²² *mm.* 194, 195: *gripta seu fossa quod primitus erat in dicto sciaquatorio . . . ipse Petrus et alius de domo ipsius Petri non proiciat nec proicere debeat aut faciat aliquos immundos seu ineptitudines per fenestras domus dicti Petri in coquina et orto domus dicti hospitalis.*

²³ Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile*, p. 156.

²⁴ A. Esch, 'La fine del libero commune di Roma nel giudizio dei mercanti fiorentini. Lettere romane degli anni 1395–1398 nell'archivio Datini,' *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e archivio muratoriano*, 86 (1976–7), pp. 235–77; Esch, *Bonifaz IX und der Kirchenstaat*, Tübingen 1969, chapter 4.

²⁵ S. Passigli, 'Geografia parrocchiale e circoscrizioni territoriali nei secoli XII–XIV: istituzioni e realtà quotidiana', in E. Hubert, *Rome aux XIIIe XIV*, pp. 45–77 for the whole topic; also *Pievi e parrocchia in Italia nel basso medioevo (sec. XIII–XV)* 2 vols. (= Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 36, 37), Rome 1984, especially for E. Petrucci, 'Pievi e parrocchie del Lazio nel basso medioevo: note e osservazione', I (36), pp. 892–1017.

²⁶ For these see Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile*, pp. 155–6; E. Hubert, *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du Xe siècle à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (= Collection de l'école française de Rome 135), Rome 1990, pp. 365–8.

²⁷ *Venerabile*, p. 37; *m.* 34; U. Gnoli, *Topographia e toponomastica di Roma medioevale e moderno*, Rome 1939, pp. 217–18.

²⁸ *m.* 78.

about twelve years ago he left the city and wandered through the world and has not been found, and this is true and proved and is manifest and is commonly and publicly acknowledged in *riones* S. Angelo, Arenula and Parione among those who know John.²⁹

The city was also of course divided into parishes. It probably came as a surprise for Englishmen to find that the *rione* rather than the parish was the administrative centre. Differences in the way Italians and English related to their parish still need examination. Major information will come from the notaries' protocols and for Rome much still needs to be done.³⁰ The parish in which S Thomas's hospice was founded, S Caterina or de Caterinis, was large and the parish priest in 1362 had a mistress who lived opposite the church. S Chrysogonus' hospice was in S Chrysogonus' parish in Trastevere region. But the English lived in various parishes, not in one area. We may discover from wills whether they thought of their parish at death, which will be discussed below. We have no idea how they functioned within it during life. But a little about how the Romans did so appears from the notaries' protocols. In April 1365 Antonius Goioli recorded that certain men of the parish of S Tommaso de Yspanis in Arenula region (very near S Thomas's hospice) assembled in the usual way and on behalf of the parish chose an archpriest and appointed a proctor to present his election to the vicar-general.³¹ Such an arrangement was unknown in England. Some of the men involved also appeared in the deeds of the new hospice.³²

Although there were no distinct 'wealthy' quarters in the city there were certainly very distinct social circles. Interesting work has been done on the groups which gave evidence for the canonisation processes of S Francesca Romana, of the Bussa family, who had married into the de Ponzianis, and for S Bridget of Sweden.³³ This shows that the circles which knew the two were very different. Bridget was a great aristocrat and the evidence in her case is largely aristocratic. The de Ponzianis belonged to the *popolo*, the misleading name given to the political grouping which included rich cattle-owning citizens, below the noble aristocracy. S Francesca's support came from family, kin and neighbours of her own class.

In 1362, of course, the papal curia was in Avignon. One of the factors

²⁹ m. 132: *iam sunt xii anni proxime post idcirca ab urbe recessit et ivit vacabundus per mundum et non reperitur et est verum, probatum et manifestum et publica vox et fama in urbe maxime in regione Sancti Angeli, Arenule et Parionis inter notos ipsi Johanni.*

³⁰ See Passigli, 'Geografia', esp. pp. 62, 69–71, 77; Petrucci, 'Pievi e parrocchie' also.

³¹ Goioli, no. 40. pp. 62–63; mentioned by Passigli, 'Geografia', p. 71.

³² For instance, m. 71.

³³ A. Esch, 'Die Zeugenaussagen im Heiligensprechungsverfahren für S Francesca Romana als Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte Roms im frühen Quattrocento', *QFAIB* 53 (1973). pp. 93–151.

which in the past had encouraged development of the city of Rome was thus absent. Since members of the western church needed to apply to the pope regularly for grants and favours, as well as to show loyalty by visits, much traffic produced by the papacy now went to Avignon, which benefited commercially and culturally. Rome suffered in consequence. It also suffered from intermittent warfare in Italy.³⁴ After 1313 the papacy's attempt to control the Papal States from afar meant that popes relied on outside assistance, with the leading nobles pursuing their personal vendettas under the pretext of serving a lord.³⁵ The history of the city itself is not clear, with the rebellion of Cola di Rienzo in 1347 being a more well-documented moment in a period otherwise very obscure.³⁶ Under pope Innocent VI (1352–62) the papacy strove to regain control of the Papal States, relying particularly on Cardinal Gil Albornoz, who struggled with various local tyrants, at vast expense to the papacy but with the ultimate effect that by 1367 Rome was thought safe enough for Urban V (1362–70) to re-enter. Briefly Rome benefited from the repairs made for his arrival.³⁷ War began again, however, and in September 1370 Urban returned to Avignon. His successor, Gregory XI, elected on 30 December 1370, was determined to take the papacy home. Again at vast expense and although facing a serious quarrel with the Florentines, the pope returned to Rome in January 1377.

The first English hospital, however, was founded while the papacy was still absent. During that period the most important people in Rome were the dominant noble families who held land both within and outside the walls and often protected themselves from within towers. Though their political power had been seriously eroded since the rising by Cola di Rienzo in 1347, some still retained considerable strength with formidable potential to make trouble if they wished.³⁸ The leading families had strongholds outside the city; during the episode of Cola di Rienzo their ability to cut off food supplies to the city had been made

³⁴ The best account that I know of Rome in this period is R. Brentano, *Rome Before Avignon, A Social History of Thirteenth Century Rome*, New York 1974, despite the title. See also Krautheimer, *Rome Profile*. The political history is excellently described in P. Partner, *The Lands of St Peter*, especially chapter 10.

³⁵ Partner, *Lands of St Peter*, p. 309 onwards.

³⁶ On Cola see especially G. Porta, ed., 'Anonimo', *Cronica*; see also D. Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City, 1300–1500*, London and New York, 1997, p. 126 and references.

³⁷ See Partner, *Lands of St Peter*, p. 356.

³⁸ S. Carocci, 'Baroni in città. Considerazioni sull'insediamento e i diritti urbani della grande nobiltà' in E. Hubert, *Rome aux XIIIe e XIVe siècles*, pp. 139–73; and Carocci, *Baroni di Roma. Dominazioni signorili e lignaggi aristocratici nel duecento e nel primo trecento* (= Collection de l'école française de Rome 181, or Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo. Nuovi studi storici 23), Rome 1993.

very clear. From their stronghold in Marino in 1347 the Orsini had pillaged the local countryside; one reason why Cola fell was that roads were blocked so that grain could not enter.³⁹ Afterwards the commune organised itself and produced statutes very hostile to the nobility, including a citizen militia to keep order.⁴⁰ Theoretically therefore the nobility were much less powerful after 1362 but nevertheless they still had important capability to cause disorder. When the curia returned from Avignon in 1378 the French cardinals and papal courtiers soon gained very unfavourable impressions of the Romans, including their propensity to go armed and their undeferential behaviour towards great prelates.⁴¹ Thomas Petra, in summer 1380 referred to the Romans as:⁴²

armed according to the manner of the country in which even boys carry arms and no-one prohibits it, in my opinion because of the lack of general lordship.

Cardinal Bertrand Lagier compared the behaviour of the rude lower orders unfavourably with their like in Avignon. He added that he would love to live in Rome for the sake of the bodies of the saints, if the people were, 'I do not say good and devout but even human'.⁴³

In the Arenula district where the English hospice of S Thomas was founded, the leading noble family was the Orsini of Campo dei Fiori.⁴⁴ The head of that branch of the family in 1362 was Latino with his wife Golitia. Facing into the present Piazza Farnese, near the site where the English group bought their first house, was the palace of a family of Orsini allies, the de Papazurris.

Essentially the English encountered these families as their ground landlords. We meet the Orsini of Campo dei Fiori in the hospice deeds in this guise, represented by proctors, for example for the hospice house in Arenula called Scottis Torre.⁴⁵ The earliest reference in the deeds to such transactions is in 1333 where the seller of this house was Ceccus Capo da Ferro, whose family were powerful allies of the Orsini in the area.⁴⁶ When in 1364 the house was sold to William de Scotia, Paulus Gorcii Capo da Ferro still held property next door, which he had still in

³⁹ G. Porta, 'Anonimo', pp. 192–3. The Orsini are discussed in Carocci, *Baroni*, section 10, pp. 387–400.

⁴⁰ G. Fasoli, 'Ricerche sulla legislazione antimagnatiza nei comuni dell'alta e media Italia', *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 12 (1939), pp. 86–133, 240–309.

⁴¹ M. Seidlmayer, *Die Anfänge des grossen abendländischen Schismas*, (= Spanische Forschungen aus der Görresgesellschaft, Series 2/5), Münster 1940, p. 262; L. Gayet, *Le grand schisme d'occident*, 2 vols. Florence and Berlin 1889, II, pièces justificatives, p. 141: cardinal de Vernhio said he would not believe that this could happen where he came from!

⁴² Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, p. 262.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

⁴⁴ A. Chastel and G. Vallet, eds., *Le palais Farnese* (= École française de Rome), 2 vols., one in two, Rome 1980–1, *Texte* 1/1, esp. pp. 57–9.

⁴⁵ *mm.* 7, 39, 91.

⁴⁶ *m.* 7; Chastel and Vallet, *Le palais Farnese*, 1/1, p. 86.

1377 when William died.⁴⁷ He was an important man. In 1378 Latinus Orsini named him proctor of the Romans and the city chamber (*camera urbis*). He died in 1393 and was buried in S Maria sopra Minerva where his tomb can still be seen. His sons continued to be important in the local government.⁴⁸

One of the properties (called a *casalenum*, meaning perhaps a building plot or perhaps a building)⁴⁹ which the English member of the papal curia John Fraunceys bought in 1404 had as ground landlord (was *in proprietate* of) the other branch of the Orsini. We first encounter it in 1365 rented by Raynaldo Orsini to Edificatio Tucii de Malpileis,⁵⁰ a well-connected tenant. Jacobus Edificatii de Malpileis was a canon of St Peter's in 1371.⁵¹ Another member of the family was podestà of Sutri in 1399.⁵² In 1382 *magnificus et potens* Jordanus de Ursinis was selling the *casalenum* to the proctor for Paulus Jacobelli, Colutia Brunco, a resident of Marino, the Orsini stronghold. The business was done in Marino.⁵³

The de Pappazuris family were also allies of the Orsini, and an area in present Piazza Farnese was so much de Pappazuris territory in 1428 that an arbitration award for the English hospital was described as given 'in a certain podium in the portico or loggia called de Pappazuris' (*in quodam podio sito in porticali seu lovio quod dicitur de Pappazuris*).⁵⁴ The family appears at intervals in the hospice deeds. Domina Francisca de Pappazuris was noted as holding property on two sides of a house bought by the Englishman William Mantel in 1367.⁵⁵ It was left to S Thomas's hospice in 1383.⁵⁶ In 1360 Perna, widow of Jacobucius Homodei sold a palace in the Parione region which had been her dower⁵⁷ to Johannes Cardelli.⁵⁸ Among the witnesses was Johannes Petri Cole (de) Pappazuris. Jacobus de Pappazuris (canon of S Lorenzo in Damaso since at least 1365),⁵⁹ acted as a witness for domina Mathea, widow of Georgius, butcher (*macellarius*) and Johanna her daughter, widow of Bucius de

⁴⁷ *mm.* 39, 91.

⁴⁸ Staglia, L., *Il protocollo notarile di Lorenzo Staglia (1372)*, ed. I. L. Sanfilippo (= Codice diplomatico di Roma e della regione romana 3), Rome 1986, pp. 14–15 and notes (hereafter called Staglia); P. Supino, ed., *La 'Margarita cometana'. Regesto dei documenti*, Rome 1969, no. 498, pp. 369–7; he was proctor of the *camera urbis* and marshal of Latino Orsini.

⁴⁹ E. Hubert, *Espace urbain*, pp. 128–31, for the word, pp. 309–13 for census payments and 267–70 for ground landlords.

⁵⁰ *m.* 41 and dorse.

⁵¹ R. Montel, 'Les chanoines de la basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome des statuts capitulaires de 1277–1279 à la fin de la papauté d'Avignon. Étude prosopographique', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 43 (1989), pp. 1–49, esp p. 46 note 4; see also *m.* 138 for another family member, a notary.

⁵² Esch, *Bonifaz IX*, p. 637.

⁵³ *m.* 111.

⁵⁴ *m.* 195.

⁵⁵ *m.* 49 and see *mm.* 82, 83.

⁵⁶ *m.* 115.

⁵⁷ *m.* 9.

⁵⁸ *m.* 33.

⁵⁹ Gaioli, p. 111, 158.

Bachariis, all of Parione, when selling a house to the English priest, Hugo de Hutyon, in 1379 and again when he sold it in 1380.⁶⁰

The noble family de Saracenis were similarly ground landlords of some importance to the hospice. The family had a palace and other property in the Arenula region. A document of 1418 refers to property there towards the main palace (*versus palatium majus*) of Johannes de Saracenis.⁶¹ All the evidence suggests that the family needed money. In 1366 Johannes de Saracenis rented, to Raulinus son of John, an Englishman, a house said to be roofless (*discoperta*), for eighteen years on condition that within five it was made fit for habitation.⁶² This was a standard method of dealing with properties which the proprietors could not afford to improve.⁶³ This house, 'once roofless now roofed' (*olim discoperta nunc coperta*) and called a *turris* with a *casella*, was sold by de Saracenis and his wife Cecilia in 1382 to the Englishman John Palmer.⁶⁴ The witnesses included the noble Matthucius, natural son of the late Benedictus Orsini of Campo dei Fiori. It came to the hospice of S Thomas in 1383.⁶⁵ The house owned by the English woman Sibilla Teste which she sold in 1391 to William, son of Richard, *paternostrarius* of Parione was also *in proprietate* of Johannes de Saracenis.⁶⁶ We can see it changing hands in 1365 when Johannes Cole de Saracenis, acting for his grandmother, Margarita, and his wife, Francesca, accepted a change of owner and received his census or payment for allowing it.⁶⁷ The property can then be traced until Sibilla sold it.⁶⁸

By 1418 Johannes and Francesca were short of money. In March they sold one house in Arenula to the Englishman Philip Newton.⁶⁹ The guarantor for Johannes was Petrus Johannis Ley, or de Leis of Arenula who later caused such a problem with his waste water. In June that year, with Philip Newton as proctor for the deal, and with the consent of their son Anthonius, the de Saracenis sold the house next to their own palace to a German.⁷⁰ In December Johannes was having to acknowledge that he had been borrowing money from Johannes Cecchi de Leis by fictitious selling of a house used as a pledge.⁷¹

The families of Orsini, de Pappazuris and de Saracenis had in common that they had known S Bridget of Sweden when she had lived in Rome, first in S Lorenzo in Damaso and then with Francesca de Pappazuris. In 1383 Francesca had given her house for the new order which Bridget founded; it is still a Bridgettine convent in modern Piazza Farnese. A famous English pilgrim, Margery Kemp, in 1414 was

⁶⁰ *mm.* 96, 102. ⁶¹ *m.* 190; see Staglia, p. 127 for a further mention.

⁶² *m.* 45. ⁶³ E. Hubert, *Espace urbain*, p. 318. ⁶⁴ *m.* 114.

⁶⁵ *m.* 115, Palmer's will. ⁶⁶ *mm.* 121, 128, and see *m.* 68. ⁶⁷ *m.* 42.

⁶⁸ *mm.* 48, 68, 121, 128. ⁶⁹ *m.* 189. ⁷⁰ *m.* 190. ⁷¹ *m.* 192.

easily able to meet Bridget's former servants because the convent was literally round the corner from the English hospice.⁷² Latinus and Golitia Orsini gave evidence for Bridget's canonisation process in 1379, remembering events of 1362 and earlier.⁷³ They said they were on easy terms (*conversacionem familiarem*) with her. It is probably the first wife of Johannes de Saracenis who in 1379 also gave evidence. She reckoned that her son Nicolas had been healed by relics of the dead woman.⁷⁴ Francesca de Pappazuris gave evidence also.⁷⁵

Such families could have great influence for good or ill. For instance in an agreement to keep the peace drawn up in 1365 by Antonius Goioli, the parties accepted that the peace between them could be considered broken if one attacked the other with armed men. Latinus Orsini witnessed this agreement.⁷⁶ The parties selected arbitrators,⁷⁷ then their sentence was given. The quarrellers had been involved in an affray and so one side was to come to a specific place with eight colleagues and four supporters and the other was to join him there and ask pardon in stated language. The injured party then asked to have his enemy as a brother. After this the offending straw which had caused the problem was to be removed within a stated time.⁷⁸

During Bridget's canonisation process Margareta, widow of Paulus Branche of Arenula, recorded that in July 1365 her husband was killed and a feud resulted. Margareta's sons found it impossible to arrange any agreement with the family of her husband's killer until, so as at least not to lose her sons as well as her husband, she asked Bridget to pray for her. The following morning 'the relatives of the said killer came . . . and made an excellent peace'.⁷⁹ The city of Rome could clearly be a very turbulent place and great nobles were naturally crucial in either causing or defusing trouble.

Within the walls also great religious houses held the freehold of much property and are found receiving ground rent. In the second half of the fourteenth century many religious houses, like many of the older nobility, were in fact suffering from lack of funds and having to realise their assets by letting their properties on long leases or even sometimes selling them outright.⁸⁰ The beneficiaries were usually individuals who

⁷² M. Kemp, *The Book of Margery Kemp*, ed. S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen EETS 217 (1940), chapter 39, p. 95, line 11 and 14.

⁷³ I. Collijn, ed., *Acta et processus canonizationis Beate Birgitte* (= Samlingar utgivna av svenska Fornskrift-sällskapet, series 2, Latinska Skrifter 1), Uppsala 1924–31, pp. 352–63, 448–59.

⁷⁴ Collijn, *Acta*, p. 432–3.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 436–47.

⁷⁶ Goioli, p. 180.

⁷⁷ Ibid., nos. 90, 91, 92.

⁷⁸ Ibid., no. 105.

⁷⁹ Collijn, *Acta*, p. 564.

⁸⁰ J. C. Maire-Vigueur, 'Les casali des églises de Rome à la fin du moyen âge (1348–1428)', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, moyen âge/ temps moderne*, 86 (1974), pp. 63–136 for details, esp. pp. 72–83.

in England might have been called gentry, who had built houses on the land, though they often did not own the *proprietas*. A class of wealthy cattle owners and merchants and also notaries, was increasingly obtaining political power in Rome after 1360.⁸¹

The English were among buyers and renters, encountering the religious houses very often as ground landlords. The hospice of S Thomas owed ground rent to several convents by 1418, the most important being the abbey of S Biagio in *Canto Secuto* (della Pagnotta), still in via Giulia. Some Englishmen felt that such houses merited their support, for instance Walter Taylor evidently regarded S Biagio as to some extent 'his' church, since he left it 2 ducats for his soul.⁸² The two senior Possewichs requested burial in their parish church of S Biagio.⁸³ Acknowledgement of the need for ready cash was given by S Biagio in 1374 when the Abbot and monks, 'pressed by necessity', let to John Champneys part of a garden, in return for which John paid six florins for the repair of their chapel called S Lucia Nova in Parione region.⁸⁴ This was a hospital in the present via Banchi Vecchi which had been in existence since about 1352.⁸⁵ In 1397 an Irish monk of S Biagio, John Oneachayn, referred in a petition to his monastery as 'poor'.⁸⁶ In 1405 S Biagio had a cardinal-abbot who held the monastery with his other benefices (*in commendam*) and must have been trying to recover full possession of properties previously leased. The abbot queried the terms on which the former Taylor house was held by S Thomas's and the matter went for arbitration before Hermann Dwergr, a famous German auditor and protonotary. He decreed that the hospice merely owed 6d per year to the abbot with one florin every time the house changed hands.⁸⁷ The abbot was Henry Minutoli, cardinal of Naples, who as well as being ground landlord of the Possewich family home was patron of the young John Possewich.⁸⁸

Many Romans owned property just outside the walls, vineyards in particular, typically described as outside such and such a gate, in the place called so and so 'Outside Porta Castelli in the place called Varannecta';⁸⁹ 'outside Porta Portuensis, in the place called

⁸¹ C. Gennaro, 'Mercanti e bovattieri nella Roma della seconda metà del trecento (da una ricerca su registri notarili)', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e archivio muratoriano*, 78 (1967), pp. 155–203, for the classic study.

⁸² *m.* 163; 79, 80; for the community F. Caraffa, *Monasticon Italiae*, 1, *Roma e Lazio*, Cesena 1981, p. 46.

⁸³ *mm.* 123, 158. ⁸⁴ *m.* 76.

⁸⁵ C. Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo. Cataloghi ed appunti*, Rome 1927, pp. 302–3.

⁸⁶ *CPL*, v, p. 18.

⁸⁷ *m.* 171; for Dwergr see Schuchard, *Die Deutschen*, pp. 302–5, 307, 310–11.

⁸⁸ Vatican Archives, Reg. Lat. 127, fols. 46–7. ⁸⁹ Goioli, p. 124.

Montorio'.⁹⁰ In the canonisation records for S Francesca Romana, wife of a man from a well-known family in the Trastevere district, we find mentioned in passing their vineyard outside Porta S Paolo.⁹¹ Thus the English who founded the two hospices set about buying vineyards as well as houses. Very often they would not expect to exploit these themselves but would let them or hire someone to run them. The notaries' books are full of examples of such bargains,⁹² some specifying carefully how the renter was to labour and how the proprietor would receive some of the results.⁹³ Those in Rome who did not themselves own vineyards would make regular arrangements with an owner in spring, paying in advance for wine to be delivered at vintage.⁹⁴

One can now ask what drove Englishmen (and women) to come to live in Rome? A major impetus was probably trade, both that connected with pilgrimage and more generally the hope of establishing a commercial foothold in a foreign centre. Without a resident papacy, late medieval Rome might seem to us a poor and insignificant place, but it was a significant pilgrim centre, its *raison d'être* amply illustrated in the Jubilee year of 1350 when there was a huge influx of people, including perhaps 'several hundred from England'.⁹⁵ Matteo Villani, the Florentine chronicler, painted a somewhat idealised picture of the Holy Year of 1350 but the large number of pilgrims was excellent for all inhabitants: 'all the Romans became innkeepers' and put up prices.⁹⁶ There was a Rome not dependent on the presence of the papacy, though much of it still depended on S Peter and other saints and martyrs. This may explain why, even before the papacy returned, there were significant groups of non-Romans in the city.

The English were neither the only group of immigrants in 1362 nor the most significant. Like many other North Italian cities, Rome was full of incomers, though most were from elsewhere in Italy.⁹⁷ Shepherd's house was bought by him in 1361 from Antonius Smerucii, a woolman, formerly of Camerino.⁹⁸ In the protocols for 1365 of Antonius Goioli there were people from Arezzo,⁹⁹ from Bologna,¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 98.

⁹¹ P. L. Lugano, *I processi inediti per Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani (Santa Francesca Romana) 1440–1453*, Studi e testi 120 (1945), p. 236.

⁹² Goioli, pp. 201–4 for instance. ⁹³ Ibid., pp. 208–9.

⁹⁴ Caputgallis, pp. 267–8 is a good example.

⁹⁵ W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England 1327–1534*, II, Cambridge (Mass.) 1962, pp. 460–1 for some details from England.

⁹⁶ M Villani, *Cronaca*, in G., M., and F. Villani, *Chronache di Dino Compagni e di Giovanni, Matteo e Filippo Villani*, One vol. in two parts, Padua 1841, part II, p. 27.

⁹⁷ Goioli, p. xix. ⁹⁸ *Venerabile*, p. 37; m. 34.

⁹⁹ Goioli, p. 209. ¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 60.

lately from Sienna,¹⁰¹ lately of Pisa,¹⁰² from Milan,¹⁰³ from Ferrara,¹⁰⁴ from Benevento,¹⁰⁵ from Rieti,¹⁰⁶ many Sicilians,¹⁰⁷ with Nicholas of Naples and a Genoese merchant.¹⁰⁸ There were also Spaniards¹⁰⁹ and even Germans; Raynaldus de *Lamania*, colleague of Count Guido.¹¹⁰ Even before the papacy's return there were already Florentines in Rome. In 1376 during Pope Gregory's quarrel with Florence, he imprisoned thirty-one Florentine merchants in the city, of whom nine or ten had Roman wives and about eight were citizens.¹¹¹ This pattern is also found in other Tuscan cities which replenished themselves after the Black Death by drawing both from the surrounding countryside and from much further afield.¹¹²

Rome thus was thoroughly cosmopolitan, as it had always been. On the other hand it cannot have been very prosperous. Everything suggests that it was still very ruinous. One way in which Bartolomeo Prignano, the future Urban VI, was said to have endeared himself to the Romans before 1378 was to express deep sorrow at the state of the city and to say that he would build a great palace if he had the power.¹¹³ The contracts of rent in Antonius Goioli's protocols specify repairs.¹¹⁴ For example the rent of a palace in SS Lorenzo and Damaso region stated that the roof of the adjacent *casellam discopertam* was to be made good.¹¹⁵ Some hospice deeds referred to properties as *scoperte* or *discoperte* as already noticed.¹¹⁶ The *turris* which John Fraunceys eventually bought was called *disruptam* in 1382.¹¹⁷ In some cases the repairs would come out of the rent,¹¹⁸ in others a condition was that the holder repaired the house, as agreed in 1366 for the house which John Ponfred finally gave to the hospice of S Thomas.¹¹⁹ Described as a simple house called lo Cafaria, roofless with no upper storey (*discoperta absque solariis*), it was let, as we saw, for eighteen years to Raulinus the Englishman on condition that it is made habitable within five years (*quod sit bene acta ad habitandum hinc ad v annos*). By 1382 it was described as with two storeys, formerly roofless, now roofed (*solarata, olim discoperta nunc coperta.*)¹²⁰ So someone had roofed it and added a second floor.

Without any major industry, and relying for prosperity on pilgrims with the hoped-for presence of the papal curia, the Romans knew

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 105.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 62, 175, 199, 257.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17–18.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹¹¹ A. Esch, 'Florentiner in Rom um 1400. Namenverzeichnis der ersten Quattrocento-Generation', *QFIAB* 52 (1972), pp. 476–525, esp. 479, note 7.

¹¹² Herlihy, 'The Tuscan town', pp. 85, 88.

¹¹³ Seidlmayer, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 311–12.

¹¹⁴ Goioli, p. xx.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹¹⁶ Above, p. 19.

¹¹⁷ *m.* 111.

¹¹⁸ *m.* 75, of 1374.

¹¹⁹ Above, p. 19; *m.* 45.

¹²⁰ *m.* 114.

perfectly well what would bring prosperity. There are many examples where it was agreed that rent would rise if the pope or emperor came to the city.¹²¹ In 1367 a testator specified that if the pope came his executor was to have made two bells to the value of 15 gold florins to be placed in the church of S Anastasia de Marmorata for his soul.¹²²

But before the pope returned the majority of those who lived in Rome were various kinds of artisan and of course those, like inn-keepers and sellers of holy pictures and rosary beads, who made their living from pilgrims. The English belonged for the most part to the artisan and merchant classes. Where an occupation was given, which was not by any means always, they were predominantly called *paternostrarius*, *sutor*, *cernitor* or just merchant. Before the curia returned (that is before 1376) very few were clerics. When members of the group who founded the hospice in 1362 were given occupations in the sources they were *paternostrarii* (John Shepherd himself, Simon, son of John Barber, William son of Richard), a goldsmith (John, son of William), two *cernitores*¹²³ (Robert de Pigna and Henry son of John) and one oblate (Robert, son of John).

Run-down though it was, Rome could attract those seeking opportunities because, despite appearances, the economy was expanding in the second half of the fourteenth century, though the improvement was only beginning.¹²⁴ It must have been economic prospects which attracted most immigrants. Many of them never became citizens, which required birth in Rome or the acquisition of a house, land and a level of wealth,¹²⁵ but, as we shall see, some English people made Rome so much their home that they did not mention any other place in their wills and seem to have settled firmly into local society.

The attraction of Rome for English migrants is difficult to assess because little is known about trade between England and Rome in the second half of the fourteenth century but a main ingredient must have been trade in wool and cloth. The organisation of the trade from the English end was largely in the hands of Florentines and other Italians but there were certainly native groups in many English towns who

¹²¹ Gaioli, p. 113.

¹²² Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio della Chiesa di S Angelo in Peschiera, 1/3, fol. 102v; for the church Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 174.

¹²³ See below p. 27 for explanation.

¹²⁴ For some indications L. Palermo, *Il porto di Roma nel XIV e XV secolo. Strutture socio-economiche e statuti* (= Fonti e studi per la storia economica e sociale di Roma e dello stato pontificio nel tardo medioevo 2), Rome 1979, esp. p. 102 for after 1376.

¹²⁵ For citizenship in general see D. Quagliani, 'The legal definition of citizenship in the late Middle Ages' in A. Mohlo, K. Raaffaub, and J. Emlen, eds., *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 155–67.

were anxious to wrest it from them and control it. In the very few cases where the origins of the laymen in Rome are known they come from major cloth towns which were expanding in the 1360s and 1370s: York, London, Massingham (Norfolk), Salisbury, Colchester and perhaps Pontefract (Ponfred alias Palmer). Details about the trade in Rome are few. The Florentines began in the 1340s to export to Florence large quantities of English wool¹²⁶ and by 1355 the Del Bene company, making cloth in Florence, was exporting from England 98 per cent of the wool the company used. But this tells us nothing of Rome.

Rome certainly contained men trading in wool. Apart from Antonius Smerucci,¹²⁷ Antonius Goioli's protocols in 1365 refer both to selling sacks of sheeps' wool¹²⁸ and to men working the wool *in apotheca* . . . *in arte lane*, where a man from Cortina worked for a Roman in the Colonna district.¹²⁹ There were several *lanaroli* in Goioli's documents. Coluccia Pauli,¹³⁰ Gerardus Petri,¹³¹ Venturinus Thomaxi,¹³² Franciscus, and his bother Balthelus Munalli¹³³ were all woolmen of Arenula, of whom Coluccia was *caporione* or elected representative for a *rione* and Franciscus an elector.¹³⁴ Ventura Johannis ser Gualterii was from the area of SS Lorenzo and Damaso¹³⁵ and Petrus Meoli from Parione region.¹³⁶ In 1368 the notary Pietro di Nicola Astalli's note-books mention Meulus Danielis, another woolman of Arenula.¹³⁷

The protocols of Lorenzo Staglia give even more details of the trade in 1372, though mostly concerning local wool. Woolmen ordered this at any time between Autumn and Easter or bought fleeces,¹³⁸ specifying the type of wool and explaining that it must be delivered well-washed and combed.¹³⁹ The sellers were local sheep-owners.¹⁴⁰ There were weavers,¹⁴¹ wool-dressers,¹⁴² and, in the Ponte and Pigna regions, dyers.¹⁴³ There were fulling mills also.¹⁴⁴ In Goioli's protocols also there were also several *sutores* or *sartores*, which at this time meant tailor

¹²⁶ H. Hoshino, *L'arte della lana in Firenze nel basso medioevo. Il commercio della lana e il mercato dei panni fiorentini nei secoli XIII-XV* (= Biblioteca storica toscana 21), Florence 1980, p. 141.

¹²⁷ Above, p. 10. ¹²⁸ Goioli, p. 103. ¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 160.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 19, 56, 114, 160, 222, 225. ¹³¹ Ibid., p. 96.

¹³² Ibid., p. 104. ¹³³ Ibid., p. 114, 160, 225. ¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 114.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 119. ¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 262, 267.

¹³⁷ Astalli, P., *Il protocollo notarile di Pietro di Nicola Astalli* (= Codice diplomatico di Roma e della regione romana 6), ed. I. L. Sanfilippo, Rome 1989, pp. 59–62 (hereafter called Astalli).

¹³⁸ Staglia, pp. 5–6, 38–9, 63–4, 84–5, 148–9, 163–5.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 5, 20, 38, 132, 133, 148, 164.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. xxiv–v, who says that these types of wool had to be bought without use of middlemen.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 46–9, 51, 57, 59–60, 62, 81, 92, 99.

¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 20, 31, 80, 84, 86, 95, 132, 148, 165.

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 83, 165–6. ¹⁴⁴ Astalli, pp. 41–2.

in a very general sense,¹⁴⁵ and more are found in other protocols.¹⁴⁶ Trade in wool and cloth must therefore have been well established.

Already in 1362 there were groups in London and elsewhere trying to advance native English trade in cloth and wool at the expense of aliens and there were strong connections between merchants of London and English institutions in Rome before 1400.¹⁴⁷ From 1359 the wool Staple was at Bruges and from 1362, the year of the founding of S Thomas's hospital, at Calais. This favoured English wool exporters at the expense of aliens.¹⁴⁸ Outside London too there were merchants who desired to break into the export trade, and resented how much was in alien hands. Groups were trying to develop Southampton as a port and many English merchants attempted to circumvent the government's regular bans on denizen exports (the Italians provided credit to the crown) by using Italians as partners. The 1370s were the period of most fluctuation in English government policy towards the wool-trade and therefore also a period when English merchants seeking new markets might have thought of Rome.

To these factors was added the presence of the pope in Rome after 1376. From the beginning of the reign of Gregory XI (December 1370) it was becoming steadily more certain that this pope intended to return to Italy.¹⁴⁹ As is well known, the move was unpopular with the French, and some English and many cardinals did not want it either, but if the pope was ever to control his own territory he needed to be present.¹⁵⁰ Vacillations over his return were more concerned with the state of Italy than with the pope's own uncertainty about this plan; at latest by February 1375 it was clearly only a matter of months before he would indeed leave Avignon. This was certainly well known to governments by autumn¹⁵¹ and must therefore have been known to leading merchant communities, including those in London. This may have encouraged some merchants to think further about the value of giving support to

¹⁴⁵ Gaioli, pp. xviii–xix, 5, 26, 29, 33, 48, 96, 104, 137, 152–7, 181, 194, 202, 207, 224, 230, 261.

¹⁴⁶ Astalli, pp. 5 (a Jew), 19, 57, 58, 73, 82; Staglia, pp. 11, 22, 54, 45, 72.

¹⁴⁷ P. Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community. The Grocers' Company and the Politics and Trade of London, 1000–1485*, New Haven and London 1995, pp. 213, 216 and see below, pp. 59–61; M. Bailey, 'Historiographical essay: the commercialisation of the English economy 1086–1500', *Journal of Medieval History*, 24 (1998), pp. 277–311, covers recent literature, esp. pp. 299–300.

¹⁴⁸ T. H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1977, pp. 208–9, Nightingale, *Medieval Mercantile Community*, pp. 215–16.

¹⁴⁹ S. Weiss, 'Kredit europäischer Fürsten für Gregor XI. Zur Finanzierung der Rückkehr des Papsttum von Avignon nach Rom', *QFIAB* 77 (1997), pp. 176–205, esp. pp. 190–205.

¹⁵⁰ Weiss, 'Kredit', p. 200.

¹⁵¹ Gregory XI, *Lettres secrètes et curiales . . . intéressantes les pays autres que la France*, ed. G. Mollat (= Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), Paris 1962, nos. 3005, 3399, 3474.

English institutions in Rome; it was becoming evident that there was soon to be a shift of trade and a flow of personnel to Italy away from Avignon. There would certainly be curial business to transact, with a significant exchange of money and a much increased need for import of goods into Rome. Hence no doubt Englishmen were present in Rome simply called 'merchant' and hence also the evidence of their increase in numbers from 1370.

The English were also said to be *cernitores*. This word connects with milling and probably meant men who worked in sieving or refining, certainly when connected with *farinas* as it was in the English cases.¹⁵² The few references not in documents where the English were involved always juxtapose them with millers (*molendinarii*).¹⁵³ There were many water mills along the banks of the Tiber, with a majority near Tiber island,¹⁵⁴ but there were evidently mills elsewhere.¹⁵⁵ *Molendinarius* is a frequently mentioned trade; some would be fulling millers but some were flour-millers, though none of these were Englishmen.¹⁵⁶ Some indication of the trade occurs in the protocols of Francesco di Stephano de Caputgallis where there are several references to Jacobellus Cole Lemmi of Trevi region, a flour miller.¹⁵⁷ In 1382 his wife bought half a mill, with a tower house and half its iron winches (*medietatem . . . ferrorum argangnorum*) and stones and half a small piece of land, which owed a ground rent to the Lateran church of six *rubla* of pure milled grain per year.¹⁵⁸

The pilgrim trade naturally generated its own services. The large numbers of inns increased after the 1350 Jubilee year, when, apparently, the existing supply proved very inadequate,¹⁵⁹ though I have found no English inn-keepers in Rome. Before the return of the papacy *paternostriarius* is the most frequently mentioned trade connecting pilgrimage and Englishmen. Oddly enough, this is not a trade often mentioned in the notaries' protocols except in connection with English names. It does not seem a very common occupation. In 1527 only seventeen were noted in the Roman census.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵² Professor Mosti was most helpful in answering my questions on this point. I would also like to thank Dr John Langdon.

¹⁵³ Caputgallis, pp. 288, 289, 321.

¹⁵⁴ U. Gnoli, *Topografia*, p. 170.

¹⁵⁵ See for instance Caputgallis, p. 438, outside Porta Latina; Astalli, p. 42, outside Porta Appia.

¹⁵⁶ For fulling, above p. 25. See for flour especially Caputgallis, index, and pp. 89–90, 288, 289, 291, 292, 312, 490–1; Astalli, pp. 12, 21, 23, 31, 77, 85, 97. For some helpful ideas, see B. M. S. Campbell et al., *A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply. Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c. 1300* (= Historical Geography Research Series 30), London 1993.

¹⁵⁷ Caputgallis, index.

¹⁵⁸ Caputgallis, pp. 438–40.

¹⁵⁹ Villani, quoted Maas, *German Community*, p. 68.

¹⁶⁰ E. Lee, *Descriptio urbis. The Roman Census of 1527* (= Biblioteca del cinquecento 32), Rome 1985, p. 343.

In the Middle Ages to be *paternostriarius* was a distinct craft. He was the maker and seller of paternosters or prayer beads.¹⁶¹ The use of beads to count prayers was very old; the most common use in the thirteenth century was to count 'Our Fathers', hence the name, but in the later Middle Ages many combinations of *aves* and *paters* might be used in prayer until the later development of the modern rosary, which was certainly not fixed by 1420.¹⁶²

Rosary beads could be made of all manner of materials. In Etienne Boileau's *Livre des Métiers*, describing Paris in 1285, bone, horn, shell, amber, jet and ivory are referred to.¹⁶³ In the Flemish/French conversation manual called *Le Livre des Mestiers*, Wotier le Paternostier or Wouter de Paternostermakere, depending on what language you wanted, had paternosters of crystal, amber, glass, horn and agate.¹⁶⁴ When a jeweller called Adam Ledyard gave an inventory of his shop after theft in London in 1381 he had lost paternosters of white amber, amber, jet, silver-gilt, mazer (mixed) and white bone said to be for children.¹⁶⁵ Among valuable jewels and other goods listed by a Roman widow in 1374 as returned to her when her husband died was a rosary of coral.¹⁶⁶ Thus at one end of the scale were very expensive rosaries, sometimes found in wills, and at the other very cheap sets.

We know nothing about the organisation of the *paternostriarii* of Rome and it seems very likely that, as in England, and unlike in France, there was very little. They were not included in the *artes* in the city statutes of the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁷ In Paris between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries the trade was divided according to the materials used.¹⁶⁸ In England rosaries of gold or silver would have had to be made by a specialist gold-smith; in 1382 we find a London

¹⁶¹ A. Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose. The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, Pennsylvania 1997, esp. Introduction, and pp. 14–15, 111–16, and next note. Also J. Blair and N. Ramsay, eds., *English Medieval Industries. Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, London and Rio Grande 1991, pp. 151, 377.

¹⁶² H. Thurston, 'The rosary,' *The Month*, 96 (1900), pp. 403–18, 513–27; 'A history of the rosary in all countries,' *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 50 (1901), pp. 261–76; 'Genuflexions and Aves', *The Month*, 127 (1916), pp. 441–52, 546–59.

¹⁶³ E. Boileau, or Boyleau, *Le livre des métiers*, ed. R. de Lespinasse and F. Bonnardot (= *Histoire générale de Paris*), Paris 1879, pp. xxxviii–xl, 57–61, 81–3 or ed. G.-B. Depping, *Reglemens sur les arts et métiers de Paris . . . connus sous le nom du Livre des métiers d'Étienne Boileau* (= Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, series 3/iv), Paris 1837, pp. 66–71, 97–9.

¹⁶⁴ J. Gessler, ed., *Le livre des mestiers de Bruges et ses dérivés*, Bruges 1931, p. 45.

¹⁶⁵ H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth and XIVth and XVth Centuries*, London 1878, p. 455; Blair and Ramsay, *English Medieval Industries*, pp. 138–9, 368–9.

¹⁶⁶ Caputgallis, p. 6.

¹⁶⁷ G. Gatti, ed., *Statuti dei mercanti di Roma*, Rome 1885.

¹⁶⁸ Boileau, *Livre*, p. 57–61 or ed. Depping, pp. 66–71; R. de Lespinasse, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris*, III (in three parts), Paris 1886–97, III/2, pp. 96–9.

goldsmith losing a *paternoster* of silver and pearls.¹⁶⁹ But less specialised materials needed less accomplished craftsmen, who might make other kinds of jewellery as well. One Parisian group also made jewellery of other kinds, buttons and rings for example.¹⁷⁰ The Paris statutes simply refer to polishing the beads and insist that they be properly strung and made of true materials. Despite the attempts to produce a specialism, therefore, the trade cannot have required very specialist skills. Thus those who made and sold rosaries of cheaper materials probably also made and sold other jewels: the London jeweller in 1381 also lost necklaces, silver-gilt rings and crucifixes.¹⁷¹

Paternosters were certainly part of the commerce of Rome at this time. They are mentioned in the customs accounts.¹⁷² Some individuals probably valued a Roman rosary, perhaps because it would have been specially blessed. John Launce, friend of the English proctor William Swan, went to expense at the beginning of the fifteenth century to ask 'for a pair of beads otherwise called paternoster' (*pro uno pari bedis alias dicto paternost[rario]*).¹⁷³

The rather sparse evidence suggests that in London they lived in Faringdon Within Ward, with their shops in Paternoster Row and S Michael le Quern as 'their' church.¹⁷⁴ In Rome not only was there no 'guild'; the English *paternostarii* did not all live in the same district, although the majority (seven) lived in Parione, among the most expensive areas in the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁵ One place where they had booths was on the steps of S Peter's church 'the first door at the head of the steps, where *paternostralia* are sold'.¹⁷⁶

There were, of course, many clerics in Rome and there must always have been foreign clergy on pilgrimage, but the clerical population was the most affected by the absence of the papacy. Clergy were naturally drawn to permanent residence in the curia in pursuit of a career and until 1376 foreigners would seek that in Avignon. There were only a few English clergy in Rome before that. The group founding the hospice of S Thomas was almost entirely lay, with only an oblate representing the clerical estate. Even in Avignon, however, the number of English was small. The most numerous group before 1376 was in the

¹⁶⁹ Riley, *Memorials*, p. 470.

¹⁷⁰ Boileau, *Livre*, pp. 81–3 or ed. Depping, pp. 97–9.

¹⁷¹ Riley, *Memorials*, p. 455.

¹⁷² M. L. Lombardo, *Camera urbis: Dohanna minuta urbis liber introitus*, 1422, Rome 1963, p. 79.

¹⁷³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. B 23 f. 34v; f. 39v–40. They are referred to as *preces bedes vulgariter nuncupatas*.

¹⁷⁴ Riley, *Memorials*, pp. 20, 30.

¹⁷⁵ E. Hubert, 'Économie de la propriété immobilière: les établissements religieux et leurs patrimoines au XIV^e siècle', in Hubert, *Rome aux XIII^e siècle*, pp. 177–230, esp. p. 224.

¹⁷⁶ Schiavo, *Diario*, p. 22.

household of cardinal Simon Langham, who died that year.¹⁷⁷ There were also a few Englishmen holding offices in the papal administration and some English proctors.¹⁷⁸ But all these functioned in Avignon, a French-dominated city, to reach which, if one were English, France had to be crossed. In Rome itself an oblate of S Maria in Julia, Robert son of John, among the founder members of the hospital, was also promised a legacy of two florins in 1363 by the English Rosa Casarola and was her executor then.¹⁷⁹ Amata, an English woman, widow of Henry Orlandi, making her will in S Thomas's hospital in 1365 left one florin to John the English priest and named as an executor John the English *romitus*, presumably 'the hermit'.¹⁸⁰ John the English priest was a member of the Order of S Augustine of the church of S Augustine of Rome (and may be the same John), doing business about horses in August 1365.¹⁸¹ But Rome was not a place where many English clerics came by preference to make a career in the 1360s.

The situation changed with the return of the papacy in 1376 after which, correspondingly, opportunities for English lay people may have become less. In the period before the return of the curia, however, Rome was sufficiently attractive to entice English laymen to settle.

It was not surprising that such people decided to found 'English' institutions. Other groups, for instance the Florentines¹⁸² and the Germans¹⁸³ did so too, ultimately on a much larger scale, since the numbers were much greater. The groupings cast interesting light on ideas of 'nationhood' in the later Middle Ages. The German hospital S Maria dell'Anima gathered most of the 'Germans', who on closer inspection turn out to come from the Empire, especially the Low Countries and also Sweden.¹⁸⁴ The 'English' group centred on S Thomas's included Irish and Welshmen (though they were accepted with reservations and were not from native Irish speakers, apparently) and there was a Gascon called 'English' in S Chrysogonus' confraternity.¹⁸⁵ The object was as much the welfare of the local group of foreigners as the care of pilgrims. As an alien group in a foreign land Englishmen, and also their widows, might find themselves in old age without kin to care for them and without anyone to pray for their soul. Judging by the way the earliest English hospice operated, at least at first, these considerations played an important part in the foundation.

¹⁷⁷ M. Harvey, 'The household of Simon Langham,' *JEH*, 47 (1996), pp. 18–44.

¹⁷⁸ P. N. R. Zutshi, 'Proctors acting for English petitioners in the chancery of the Avignon popes (1305–1378),' *JEH*, 35 (1984), pp. 15–29.

¹⁷⁹ S Angelo in Pescharia, 1/1, f. 141r/v.

¹⁸⁰ Goioli, no. 158.

¹⁸¹ Goioli, pp. 187–8, no. 110.

¹⁸² For them see Esch, 'Die Florentiner'.

¹⁸³ For them see Maas, *German Community*.

¹⁸⁴ Maas, *German Community*, p. 8.

¹⁸⁵ See below, p. 83.